AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only *ebembes*. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *sokowet, pl. sokowenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, *ebembes, paiek*, and maize, *tjendek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *sipsendek*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, *chepsil* bee and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *sokdiet*, and knives, *rotwet* or *tondobet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *mwaiwenik*, from October to March, and *mosiet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of *ebembes* and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and *ebembes* are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. *Ebembes* is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom erected, as the plots are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by such wild foods as they have easy, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-hawks. Wild fruit, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *mosomwiet* (*rubus rigidus*), *kwonjwet* (*clematis simensis*), and *sawenet* (*rosa woosii*, with leaves), the sap of the *sawenet*, and leaves of nettle, *ainet*.

Interesting drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipkwinik* or *kwonik ap ki*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "*mosop*

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kowet* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kowet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *kocongat*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *ewiet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kocongat* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*tandi*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Ceremonially a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo re-

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumas* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorōbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongot*, pl. *kochongesiek*; N. *kerist*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itūkto*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muĉnik*; N. *muiuck*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mūt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*suinet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [378] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sēltutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*suiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litūto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorōbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piōnet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the chorset tree (*N.*),[1] about 15 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*test*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sueyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porōwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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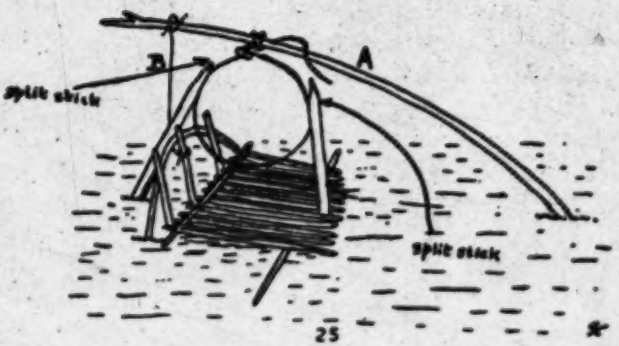

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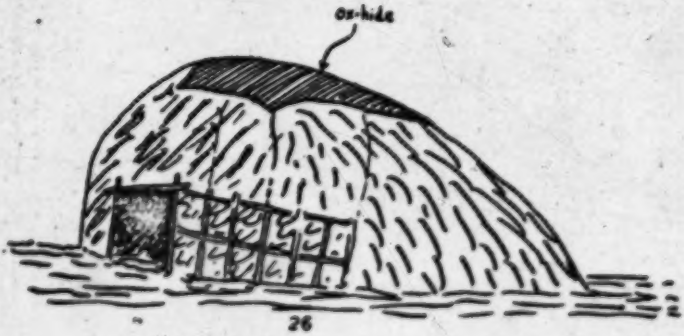

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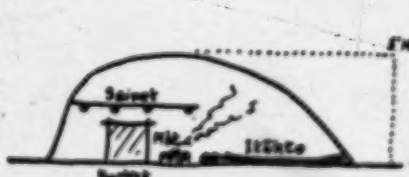

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FIG. 25.—GAME SNARE (pardevi). FIG. 26.—HUT (korkoppi). FIG. 27.—SECTION OF HUT.
FIG. 28.—PLAN OF HUT.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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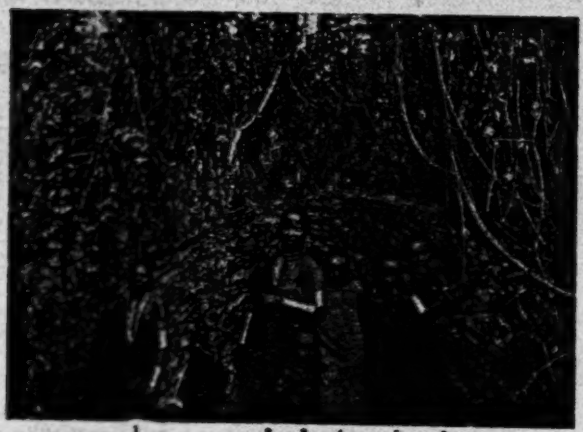
[142]



1 2 3 4 5 6

FIG. 1.—GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUTSIDE A HUT. NOS. 1 AND 2, MARRIED WOMEN "ŋɔ̀ŋtik"; NOS. 3, 5 AND 6, GIRLS; NO. 4, A BOY.

FIG. 2.—HUT "KOCHOSOET."

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FIG. 3.—THE COUNTRY ON THE SIDE OF THE FOREST, SEEN FROM SOSOITO. MASAI HUTS WITH PANTED-REED ORÍŋO HUT (ON LEFT) IN FOREGROUND.

[Facing P.378, C]

4tHuntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

596

MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati = Cemiemit ♀
(*Kimnyihe*)
♂ Kipsoimo
(*Juma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam
(*Kapielac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim = Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo = Cematia ♀
(*Maina*) — (*Nyongi*)
Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimalyo
(*Juma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

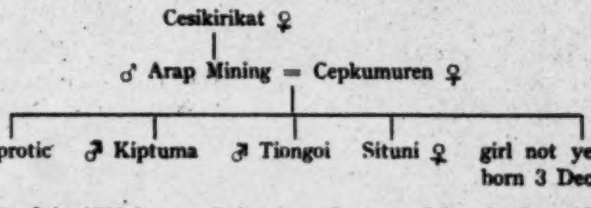
In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:



[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriat (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyweet: traps.
Kimolwet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekwet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipserpwet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Maroita: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetwet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chwe*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, guhai*) within the village is *itself* stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but *some* of them have two stories (Text-fig. 39), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the *side*, for storing grain and property; 361 342

Text-fig. 39.—An Akumoro hut (*False*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that circumcision, apart from the ngoro, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 277

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*kindi*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*nyoro*), indian corn (*ngakworipi*), and millet (*ngyi*). A form of 241

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokwaro	Kokwaga	40
Ungwe	Nyangoma	60
Lotwiro	Lotwiro	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokwaga (north of Kisumu). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ungwe and the Lotwiro 643 622 are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relatives. There are no official deliveries, as among the Lulwoo. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lulwoo, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lulwoo. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.* There is a special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lulwoo practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

* This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the dead abscond at all festivals.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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342
361

FIG. 1.—AN ORDINARY VILLAGE.

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FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF ORDINARY VILLAGE.

[p230 (K)]

MPK 648 174 787 835

Sapi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkoye an animal called Hako (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Sapi; the Masai brought a bull fat on milk only; and the Elkoye the animal called Hako.

Sapi then told each tribe to take its respective shares and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

PK 179

The Masai, marching into Elkoye from Kaiwaka, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkoye, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

D 552 [illegible]

The Somali or Galla were then disposed of, and only by the name Irogi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlement in Elkoye. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bardile, who is still alive and resides in one of Bargi's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuti's nurse.

179 [illegible] [illegible] 8727

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Elkoye, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Elkoye fought amongst themselves.

PK 311 174 C48

If the Elkoye were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Kaiwaka, Kericho, Kijabe, on Lukipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Aguoiko). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language! The Baringo, Kaiwaka, Kijabe, and Kericho Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kaironum and Kaironj as the birthplace of their fathers.

PK 174 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Aguoiko and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these give way to tiny huts now anywhere in the Elkoye country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Elkoye to enter into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkoye; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkoye may have but brought sufficient a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Dundas. (In addition may be made with Dundas-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

[The country lying between the Nzoia River and Kedjepos in Elkoye.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the industry than on hunting. 241 431

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the industry and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make trapping and luxury-articles, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family take part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 195), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go so far.

The typical Dorobo hut, hedegeri, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a mostly flat roof. 302

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic in certain old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Mitaly, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), [illegible]